171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanamú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
301 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and iranchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

795 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
796 These spirits, known by the generic term of *anüngo* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *anüngo ãwavera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

795 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[781] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhanga* or *agnan* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the apatxirí of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akuê-Chavante and by the Tupí tribe of the Ampanaé (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupí no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupí tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of Tampiitíua and Txitxutíua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22

Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairahó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Manizobdi, the oldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[1] Kamairahó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Manizobdi with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Manizobdi seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Manizobdi's aggressiveness seems to be over. Kamairahó's wife joins her husband and the oldest man of her house, places herself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[2] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Manizobdi's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern, or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any emotional reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Non-existent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having evacuated their underwoodwear and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[3] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[4] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pauicí, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[5] "the greatest privilege which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the most terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, causes a Tapirapé to defend the community

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exercising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairabé who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To refuse this cause recurs to confirm a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairabé and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamowiu, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapons of my culture and my culture is my weapons. I say to Inamowiu that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamowiu pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairabé and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairabé, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairabé passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairabé knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairabé in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairabé enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairabé is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Ta Te 121

contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

Ta Te [131] 161 648

The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 3000 people — not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 *almost* totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

Ta Te [192]

Te 177 648 797

A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory, and after the expulsion

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(2) Basic descriptions of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere. Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949; Baldus, 1937, 1946-1948, 1948 A, 1948 AB. No daily diversity pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

(3) Cf. Wagley (1943) and Baldus (1948 vol. CXII, 1948 B, 1948 B). For discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization, Baldus (1948 B) pp. 197-198, who found the village called Tapirapézinho inhabited by 150 individuals in 1935, and only 48 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tapirapézinho, but that their number seems to be fewer than the number of those who came from there to Tapirapézinho. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tapirapézinho, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

Te 161 [168]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6

Ta 262 Tc 262 169 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size.

Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems so to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Tc 161 168 182 [165]

Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

Tc 59% 591 612

Ta 616 561

Ta 49% 269 577 611 [596] [535]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 306

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's societies. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (1) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's societies also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to ensure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's societies as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded societies to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded societies out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either society nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one society to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(1) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disoriented manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kin marriage

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 5016

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classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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RESUMO

O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé no contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribus lavradoras dos selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes provàvelmente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando em função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor acha que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribus e seus métodos de aquisição de sustento devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, originalmente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a deste duplo e, provàvelmente, crescente. Estes últimos, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família e mais dos Tapirapé acha as mais a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem esta limitação com falta de alimentos, mais decisivos a respeito parecem ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelos fatores alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são funcionalmente relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser ajustados, por isso, em caso de mudança de situação demográfica.

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 [162] [411] **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kinship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] [178] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 581 597 592 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. *At present, only three of the nine houses in the village* were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease. [851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 859 851 262 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

Charles Wagley

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *hãiwahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of